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American's creed and its meaning

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**THE AMERICAN'S CREED
AND ITS MEANING**



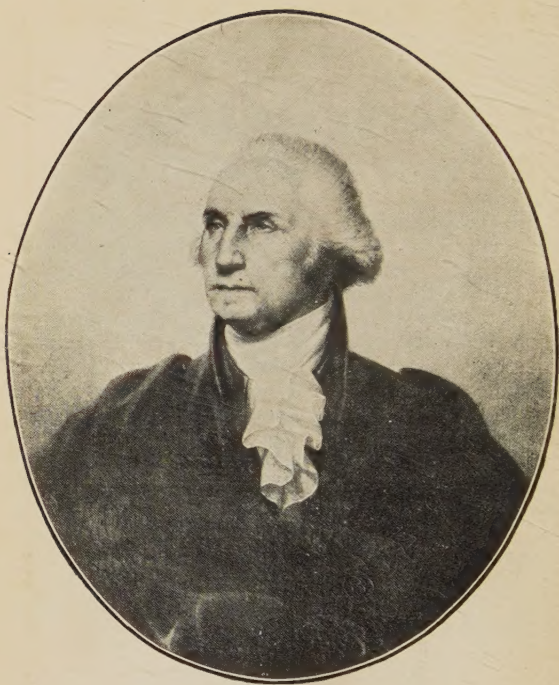
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GEORGE WASHINGTON

From Rembrandt Peale's portrait in the Vice-President's room at the National Capitol.

Of the portraits which represent Washington in later life, this one best sets forth those qualities of power and strong purpose which led Washington to risk wealth, position, and life itself for the imperilled rights of a free people. Chief Justice Marshall, Washington's fellow soldier and sufferer during the dark days at Valley Forge, was one among many of the contemporaries of Washington who declared this portrait to be the most faithful likeness of the first President of the United States.

Washington is here represented in his sixty-fourth year, not long before he delivered his Farewell Address to the American people as he was about to retire from the Presidency to private life at Mount Vernon, within view of the site of the Capital city to be named after him. He was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, February 22, 1732; died at Mount Vernon, December 14, 1799.



GEORGE WASHINGTON

The American's Creed and Its Meaning

Matthew Page Andrews

Chairman, Committee on Award

Author of "History of the United States,"

"Brief History of the United States,"

"A Heritage of Freedom," Etc.



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Illustrated

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I

**ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN'S
CREED**

ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN'S CREED

IN 1916, when half the world was aflame with war and when it daily grew more evident that America must be drawn into the mighty conflict, special need arose for taking stock of our political principles so that we should not fail when the call came for action. Hence, the thought occurred to many Americans that we should more seriously than ever before consider the duties and obligations of American citizenship, lest we forfeit its rights and privileges. We began to feel that we had, perhaps, over-emphasized our privileges to the point of ignoring or forgetting our obligations.

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Among those who felt these things was Henry Sterling Chapin, of New York, who conceived the idea of promoting a country-wide contest for the writing of a National Creed, which should be the briefest possible summary of American political faith and yet be founded upon the fundamental things most distinctive in American history and tradition.

Early in 1917, the proposed contest was announced at a large gathering of representative American authors, artists, and editors. The American Press took up the challenge, and the best magazines opened their editorial columns to wish the plan the hoped-for success.

Patriotic individuals offered prizes for the creed which should be selected; but in March, 1917, on behalf of the City of Baltimore, Mayor James H. Preston offered an award of \$1,000 for the winning

creed. This proposition was accepted in preference to others because the prize was proposed in the name of Baltimore as the birthplace of "The Star-Spangled Banner." It seemed particularly fitting that the birthplace of the National Anthem should have the honor of presenting the prize for the National Creed.

Committees were forthwith appointed to pass upon the creeds submitted: 1. A Committee on Manuscripts, consisting of Porter Emerson Browne, Henry Sterling Chapin, Hermann Hagedorn, William Charles O'Donnell, and representatives from leading American magazines. 2. A Committee on Award, consisting of Matthew Page Andrews, Irvin S. Cobb, Hamlin Garland, Ellen Glasgow, Julian Street, Booth Tarkington, and Charles Hanson Towne. To the Committee on Manuscripts was assigned the duty of selecting

the best fifty of the compositions submitted; from these fifty, the Committee on Award was then to select the National Creed. 3. In addition, a number of well-known men and women agreed to act as an Advisory Committee in consultation with the members of the Committee on Award. The President of the United States informally approved of the contest, and many State Governors, United States Senators, and Congressmen were enrolled in this Committee, of which the United States Commissioner of Education was, *ex officio*, Chairman.

The editorial offices of the *Educational Foundations* Magazine Company in New York City were thrown open as headquarters of the Committee on Manuscripts, where thousands of creeds were submitted. They came from every State in the Union. Each contestant was required to distin-

guish, by special designation or mark, his or her authorship of the composition submitted; and each was required to enclose therewith a sealed envelope containing the name and address of the contestant. All manuscripts, together with their sealed envelopes, were numbered, in the order of their receipt, by the Committee in charge.

Among the leading fifty compositions set aside by the Committee on Manuscripts was "No. 384." This became the choice of the Committee on Award and received the final endorsement of the members of the Advisory Committee. Consequently, when the sealed envelope enclosed with "No. 384" was opened, it was found that its author was William Tyler Page of Friendship Heights, a suburb of the National Capital.

Prompt inquiry showed Mr. Page to be a lineal descendant of Carter Braxton,

one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, and that he was peculiarly equipped to write the simplest and most comprehensive summary of American faith, for the reason that he had made a life-time practice of retiring to his library every recurrent Fourth of July to spend the day in careful study of the great documents of American history. Furthermore, by a remarkable coincidence, it was shown that William Tyler Page was born in Frederick, Maryland, the birthplace of Francis Scott Key, and that he had received his education in the public schools of Baltimore, in whose harbor, in 1814, Key wrote the National Anthem.

The American's Creed was selected by the Committee on Award and passed upon, in private, by the members of the Advisory Committee in March, 1918, but the ceremony at which the Creed was publicly



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JOHN HANCOCK

JOHN HANCOCK

John Hancock was chosen president of the Continental Congress of the thirteen British Colonies for the session of 1775. The following year, as president of the Congress, he signed the Declaration of Independence. Later, he was elected the first governor of Massachusetts under the constitution of 1780. With a two-year interval, or from 1785-1787, he was re-elected annually, until his death.

Like Washington, Hancock was a man of means and position. He was born at Braintree, Massachusetts, the birthplace of John Adams, January 23, 1737; he died at Quincy, October 8, 1793.

announced took place in the Office Building of the House of Representatives, April 3, 1918, and it was first published from Press dispatches throughout the nation on the following day. The entire proceedings, together with the official reprinting of *The American's Creed* appeared in the *Congressional Record* of April 13. In this connection, also, it is worth recording that, a few days after the receipt of the check for \$1,000 upon the City of Baltimore, Mr. Page stood upon the Capitol steps in Washington and purchased a \$1,000 bond of the Third Liberty Loan. Hence, it may be said that the author of *The American's Creed* seized the first opportunity to "put up collateral" to help secure the original investment of liberty bonds on which all Americans, both native and foreign-born, have been drawing interest from that day to this. It is truly a heritage

of freedom, which The American's Creed pledges us to maintain and cherish now and forever.

Within a week after the publication of the Creed, the ninety thousand children in the public schools of Baltimore were reciting it. Immediately, the Pittsburg Board of Trade set a like example to adult organizations, especially patriotic bodies and civic societies, many of which have established the reciting of The American's Creed as a part of their exercises on special occasions. Possibly, throughout the United States, two million children learned the Creed before the close of the school year.

To further this movement, and in order to reach not two but twenty million children, in fact, all good Americans everywhere, the organization of the Creed Contest Committee was extended and funds for limited expenses were provided by patriotic

citizens. A National Executive Council was formed, membership in which was opened to all who would help by volunteer work, ideas, or contributions, while the active work of the Council has been conducted by a special Publicity Committee.

Both the Executive Council and the Publicity Committee "aim, in the interest of good citizenship, to spread a knowledge of the authorized version of The American's Creed," and, in educational work, to publish with the Creed the historical significance of its phrases and the doctrinal authorities upon which it is based. The work of the Publicity Committee has been broadened and aided by many of the oldest and largest of the organizations of the United States, and co-operation is welcomed whenever these organizations, either in a local or a national way, conform to the simple aims of the Executive Council.

Hundreds of "human interest" stories soon reached Creed headquarters in Washington, Baltimore, and New York, of the popular welcome with which the Creed was received. Congressmen who, in April, had approved of the Creed in the House, visited Europe in August and found the Creed posted on trees and trenches at the Front. The French, in a free republic inspired by American example, showed exceptional interest in their own translation, while in America the Department of the Interior provided for parallel versions in the languages of our foreign-born citizens.

To the Creed Committee there came the following story from a Pennsylvania town. "Somewhere" in that State, Federal officials had searched in vain for a young man who had succeeded in dodging the summons which had been sent out calling him

to the colors for the defense of his country. The young man was not a coward, but he had been led astray by false teaching or alien propaganda. Somehow, or in some way, a copy of a special edition of The American's Creed fell into his hands. Patriotic speeches and arguments of all kinds he had heard in plenty, but the American's Creed showed briefly and forcefully the very structure of the American Government, the nature of the freedom enjoyed by its citizens under its institutions, and the duty of those citizens to defend such institutions "against all enemies." The young man was convinced. Forthwith he went before the Draft Board of his home community, laid before its officials his copy of The American's Creed, and, *introducing them* to this document, said simply: "The American's Creed is right; I was wrong. I am now ready

14 THE AMERICAN'S CREED

to do my duty to my country." A potential "slacker" had been rescued from disgrace, and with him, as with others, the Creed had aroused both conviction and confidence in the justice of American principles and ideals.

II

THE AMERICAN'S CREED

THE AMERICAN'S CREED

I BELIEVE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AS A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE; WHOSE JUST POWERS ARE DERIVED FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED; A DEMOCRACY IN A REPUBLIC; A SOVEREIGN NATION OF MANY SOVEREIGN STATES; A PERFECT UNION, ONE AND INSEPARABLE; ESTABLISHED UPON THOSE PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM, EQUALITY, JUSTICE, AND HUMANITY FOR WHICH AMERICAN PATRIOTS SACRIFICED THEIR LIVES AND FORTUNES.

I THEREFORE BELIEVE IT IS MY DUTY TO MY COUNTRY TO LOVE IT; TO SUPPORT ITS CONSTITUTION; TO OBEY ITS LAWS; TO RESPECT ITS FLAG; AND TO DEFEND IT AGAINST ALL ENEMIES.

III

THE MEANING OF THE AMERICAN'S CREED

THE MEANING OF THE AMERICAN'S CREED

The American's Creed is a summing up, in one hundred words, of the basic principles of American political faith.

We believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people, because we believe it is best that all the people, rather than any one class or group, should have a voice in the choice and control of the government established for their own use and protection.

After nearly 150 years' trial, America has proved that a government of the people is not only free but also good and strong; for, to-day, our form of government

is the oldest among the great powers of the earth, or, more accurately, the one which has lasted longest with the least change.

Furthermore, for over 300 years, America has offered a haven of freedom to all who have sought these shores. In the Old World, autocratic governments have proceeded on the principle that the people exist for the good of the Government or those in control of the Government; the representative democracy founded and developed within our borders has, from the beginning, held to the belief that a government should exist for the good of the people.

We believe in a government whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed. This idea, and even the words themselves, date back to the beginnings of this country, when the first permanent English colony was founded

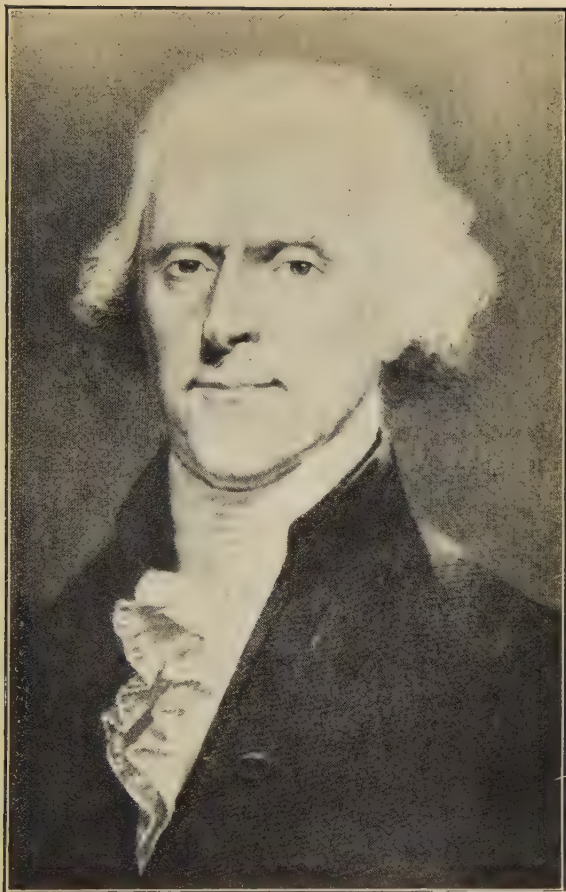
in Virginia, in 1607. This colony was different from all other European colonies in the New World in that it was founded and fostered by a number of men from among the people rather than by an autocratic ruler and his Court. It was this far-sighted group of people in the Old World who, over 300 years ago, declared that it was their purpose "to erect a free popular State" in the New World, whose people were to have "no government putt upon them but by their own consente."

Twelve other English-American colonies were subsequently founded or nurtured upon the principle of the consent of the governed. When, therefore, the self-government long enjoyed by these colonies was threatened by a self-willed British king and his ministers, this doctrine, originally laid down by the English Founders of the first colony, was re-stated, in 1776,

by Thomas Jefferson as the spokesman of the American people.

We believe in a democracy in a republic. In a small community, all the people may gather and make their own laws, as in the old New England town meeting, but when a large number of communities are concerned, a free people express their will through the medium of their duly elected representatives. Some democracies are not republics in form; while some republics are not democracies in fact. The United States of America is a representative democracy in a federal republic.

Representative democracy, under a republican form of government, to be successful and stable and strong, requires the maximum of training and self-control on the part of the people. If the people lack this self-control, they fail, and the



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THOMAS JEFFERSON

THOMAS JEFFERSON

What the pen of Jefferson had helped clearly to proclaim to the world, the sword of Washington set forth to establish. To Jefferson, also, is due, in largest measure, the expansion of the United States from coast to coast. With Patrick Henry, and as Governor of Virginia, he provided men and supplies to George Rogers Clark to secure the Northwest as far as the upper waters of the Mississippi. As President, he extended the United States by peaceful purchase to the Rocky Mountains, and later provided for the second Northwestern territorial expansion to the Pacific beyond.

With the infant navy of the United States, three thousand miles distant from the sphere of conflict, President Jefferson took the first steps to control the Barbary pirates, thus showing to the world that a free people may lead the way in making the seas safe for peaceful trade and commerce. The friend and supporter of republican France, he turned against the autocracy afterward established by Napoleon; and he who had arraigned the British King in 1776, proposed, in 1823, public association with the more democratic British Government of that day for the protection of North and South America against the designs of the combined autocrats of Europe.

Born in Albemarle County, Virginia, April 13, 1743, Jefferson died on the Fourth of July, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence.

government is seized by small groups of loud-promising men who use public power for their own selfish ends.

We believe in the United States as a sovereign Nation of many sovereign States. This is the most difficult matter, perhaps, for the foreigner to understand about the American plan of government. It is, as the Great Seal of the United States says, in Latin, a central Government made up of many smaller ones—a central Government at Washington and forty-eight separate State Governments. The powers of these State Governments are held to be sacred or “sovereign” wherever they do not conflict with the good of all as represented in the central Government of the Nation.

Under this plan, the people of the United States are blessed in being able to live under local laws that suit local conditions.

The people of the State of California may live, if they wish, quite differently from the people of the State of New York, several thousand miles away. The powers or prerogatives of governing are, therefore, divided between the National Government and the Government of the forty-eight States.

We believe in a perfect union, one and inseparable. To Americans, it seems that the United States have attained as "perfect" a union of States as can be devised. No government is absolutely perfect; hence, it is the constant care and the duty of all good citizens to make the government as nearly "perfect" as possible.

The Union is "one and inseparable" because the people have determined that it is best for all the States to remain united, since, in this country, the people of the States are "governed by their own con-

sent" through their duly-elected representatives. The United States Supreme Court expressed this thought when it declared, in 1868, that "The Constitution, in all its provisions, looks to an indestructible Union, composed of indestructible States."

A Union established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes: George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, the warrior and the statesman, risked their lives and property to make secure a greater measure of the principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity than the world had hitherto known.

Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Madison, and their compatriots built slowly and with great care; for a hasty structure, erected in passion and on mere discontent, would not have endured. Many of these

leaders had wealth and high position; but they planned a government in the interests of all, so that when leaders arose from the ranks of the people, they, too, aimed to govern not solely in the interests of any class of people, but in the equal interest of all.

It has been said, with much truth, that "It is easier to die for cause or country than to live for it." In the first instance, one's life is offered for country or cause in a single supreme effort; in the second, one's life is given to one's country through long years of labor and sacrifice. America has ever been the home of practical idealists who, in every walk of life, have devoted their lives to public service. The patriots of peace, therefore, as those of war, from the beginning till now, have, in equal measure, offered their "lives and fortunes" on behalf of the principles to which this Nation has been dedicated.

America has offered liberty and hope to all people. She has welcomed the peoples of other lands and given them a refuge from oppression. Only a few of these people have proved unworthy of her generous welcome and have abused her hospitality. For the most part, the rest have united their efforts with the best of the native Americans for their own good and for the good of the country of their adoption.

THEREFORE, in a country which affords each one of us so great a degree of liberty, it is right and natural for every patriotic American citizen to declare the belief that: it is my duty to my country to love it; to support its constitution, the framework of the Nation; to obey its laws, which we ourselves make and change; to respect its flag, the symbol of the Republic; and to defend it against all enemies.

IV

DOCTRINAL AUTHORITIES UPON WHICH THE AMERICAN'S CREED IS BASED

DOCTRINAL AUTHORITIES UPON WHICH THE AMERICAN'S CREED IS BASED

THE American's Creed is not an expression of individual opinion upon the obligations and duties of American citizenship or with respect to its rights and privileges. It is a summary of the fundamental principles of American political faith as set forth in its greatest documents, its worthiest traditions, and by its greatest leaders. The doctrinal authorities upon which The American's Creed is based are cited below, in more extended form than heretofore published.

.

"The United States of America" is the official title of our country as given in the

closing words of the Preamble, or foreword, to the Constitution. This term is used also in diplomatic correspondence with foreign nations and in the enacting and resolving clauses of bills and joint resolutions brought before Congress, to wit: "Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of *The United States of America* in Congress assembled," etc. The term is also found on the paper currency of the Nation.

The Preamble to the Constitution is given on page 52.

A government of the people, by the people, for the people. The idea here expressed is brought out, in part, in several historical documents and also by noted leaders; as in the Preamble to the Constitution; in the writings of Chief Justice Marshall and Thomas Jefferson; the speech of Daniel Webster in the United States Senate,

January 26, 1830, etc.; but it remained for the self-educated American, Abraham Lincoln, to give the thought its "final and perfect form" in the Address at Gettysburg.

For a reprint of the Gettysburg Address, see page 74.

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Whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed. It is not generally known that this expression originated with a group of liberal and far-sighted Englishmen, who, under the shadow of an autocratic King and Court, planned, at their own expense, the first free English-American colony. Thomas Jefferson was familiar with this bit of history and with this particular expression, and he re-stated the principle and even the words themselves in the American Declaration of Independence.

For a reprint of the first and last paragraphs of the Declaration, see page 48.

A democracy in a republic is based upon the expressions of a number of the framers of the Constitution of the United States. It was expounded by James Madison in *The Federalist*, that great series of papers written to convince the American people that they should adopt the "more perfect union" prepared by their Revolutionary leaders and embodied in the Constitution of the United States. The phrase is here used to mean a representative democracy in a federal republic. It is expounded, in different words, by the immediately following phrase of The American's Creed.

For a reprint of portions of Madison's paper in *The Federalist*, see page 56.

A sovereign Nation of many sovereign States. This expression is based upon the phrase "E pluribus unum" inscribed on the Great Seal of the United States and

on our coins; it is also based upon the writings of the Founders of the Republic; upon Webster's speech of January 26, 1830; Article VI of the Constitution; upon Amendment X of the Constitution; and upon a ruling of the United States Supreme Court in December, 1868.

For part of Webster's speech see page 68; for Article VI see page 53; for Amendment X see page 55; and for extract from the ruling of the Supreme Court, in *Texas vs. White*, 7 Wallace, see page 76.

A perfect union is taken from the Preamble of the Constitution. There, the Union then to be constructed on the basis of the Constitution is, prior to its adoption by the States, referred to as "a more perfect union" for the reason that the previously existing Confederation which had carried the former colonies through the Revolution was found to be too full

of weaknesses and imperfections for the practical solution of the even more difficult problems of peace.

For the Preamble to the Constitution, see page 52.

One and inseparable is a literal quotation taken from Daniel Webster's speech in the United States Senate, January 26, 1830. See page 68. See also, the Supreme Court ruling in Texas vs. White, page 76.

Established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes is adapted from the closing words of the Declaration of Independence, and is based upon the addresses and writings of American statesmen.

For the closing words of the Declaration of Independence, see page 50.

I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it. There are so

many expressions bearing upon this thought that it was difficult for the author of the Creed to make any selection. It was expressed, in substance, by Nathan Hale, when he said: "I only regret that I have but one life to give to my country"; by Stephen Decatur, by George Washington, and many others; but it so happened that the author of the Creed had chiefly in mind the speech by the Revolutionary leader, John Hancock, of Massachusetts.

For parts of Hancock's speech, see page 45.

To support its constitution is taken directly from the Oath of Allegiance, Section 1757, Revised Statutes of the United States.

For a reprint of the Oath of Allegiance, see page 78.

To obey its laws is founded upon recurrent expressions and admonitions in

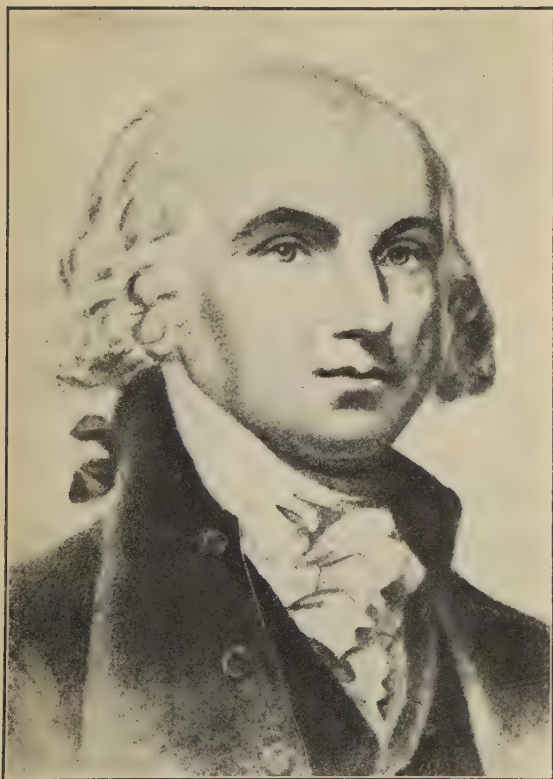
the course of the Farewell Address of George Washington, as he was about to retire from the cares of the Presidency of the young Republic into the quiet of private life.

For parts of the Farewell Address, see page 59.

To respect its flag. In civil life, this thought is brought to public attention especially during the playing, singing, or recitation of "The Star-Spangled Banner." It is particularly emphasized in the Army and Navy Regulations, and, in detail, in the War Department Circular on Flag Etiquette, published April 14, 1917.

For the words of "The Star-Spangled Banner" see page 83; for parts of the Circular on Flag Etiquette, see page 79.

And to defend it against all enemies. This thought is emphasized in the Oath of Allegiance, Section 1757, Revised Statutes,



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JAMES MADISON

JAMES MADISON

James Madison, as a master hand in the drafting of the Constitution of the United States, is frequently acclaimed as the father of this famous instrument of republican government. His part in preparing this great work, together with the arguments he brought forward to persuade the various States to join the "more perfect Union," represent services even more distinguished than those he later rendered during the time he was President of the United States.

As President, he served two terms, between those of Jefferson and of Monroe. To the former, he was Secretary of State; to the latter a confidential adviser. Like Jefferson, he was interested, during the critical years following the overthrow of Napoleon, in preventing the ambitious designs of Old World monarchs to restore autocratic governments in the newly-created republics in South America. From the views of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams, on the one side, and the first-proffered professions of co-operation on the part of the British ministry, the Monroe Doctrine was evolved and proclaimed.

James Madison was born at Port Conway, Virginia, March 16, 1751; he died June 28, 1836.

and in the writings and sayings of American statesmen and leaders on land and sea from the first establishment of this free government till now.

For the Oath of Allegiance, see page 78.

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The American's Creed is not to be interpreted in a provincial or selfish spirit, just as there is nothing provincial or narrow about the principles of representative democracy, which first saw their fullest development in America. The successful development of these principles has proved an influence for good throughout the world. Other peoples have responded to the call for popular government and have acted upon it. On the other hand, Americans themselves may always have lessons to learn from its growth and expansion in other lands and its adaptation to all conditions.

V

DOCTRINAL REPRINTS

JOHN HANCOCK

IT IS MY DUTY TO MY COUNTRY TO LOVE IT

I HAVE always, from my earliest youth, rejoiced in the felicity of my fellow-men; and have ever considered it as the indispensable duty of every member of society to promote, as far as in him lies, the prosperity of every individual, but more especially of the community to which he belongs, and also as a faithful subject of the state, to use his utmost endeavors to detect, and having detected, strenuously to oppose every traitorous plot which its enemies may devise for its destruction. Security to the persons and properties of the governed is so obviously the design and end of civil government that to attempt

a logical proof of it would be like borrowing tapers at noonday to assist the sun in enlightening the world; and it cannot be either virtuous or honorable to attempt to support a government of which this is not the great and principal basis; and it is to the last degree vicious and infamous to attempt to support a government which manifestly tends to render the persons and properties of the governed insecure. Some boast of being friends to government; I am a friend to righteous government founded upon the principles of reason and justice; but I glory in publicly avowing my eternal enmity to tyranny.

.

Patriotism is ever united with humanity and compassion. This noble affection which impels us to sacrifice everything dear, even life itself, to our country, involves in it a common sympathy and ten-

derness for every citizen, and must ever have a particular feeling for one who suffers in a public cause.

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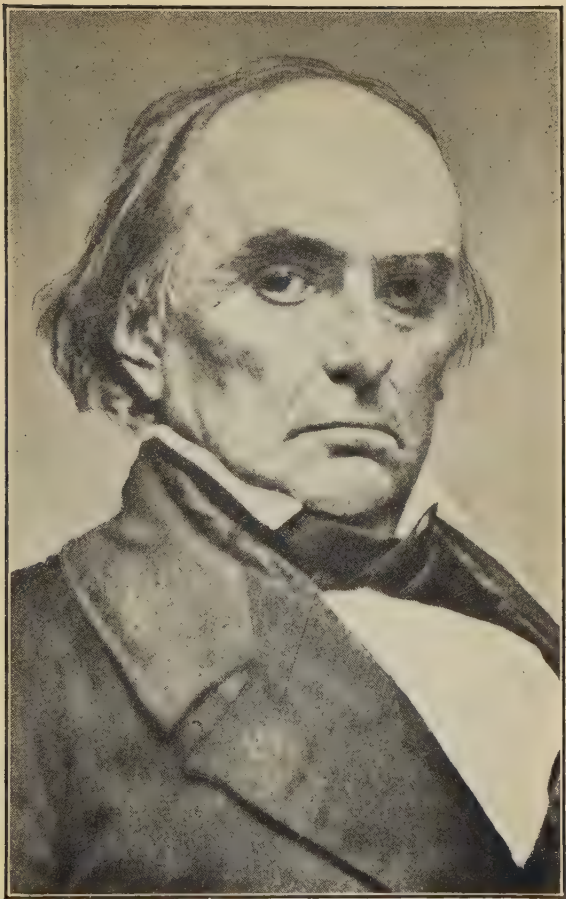
But I thank God that America abounds in men who are superior to temptation, whom nothing can divert from a steady pursuit of the interest of their country, who are at once its ornament and safeguard. And sure I am I should not incur your displeasure if I paid a respect so justly due to their much honored characters in this place; but, when I name an Adams, such a numerous host of fellow-patriots rush up to my mind that I fear it would take up too much of your time should I attempt to call over the illustrious roll; but your grateful hearts will point you to the men: and their revered names, in all succeeding times, shall grace the annals of America.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident,



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DANIEL WEBSTER

DANIEL WEBSTER

The author of the phrase, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable," will go down in history as the prophet of the spirit of growth and evolution in the Republic which he served. Whereas it had been earnestly hoped by the Founders of our Federal Republic that the Union would prove inseparable, it was, nevertheless, widely believed by able men in every State that the bonds of "the more perfect Union" were but relatively stronger than those of the Confederation of Revolutionary days; that Webster used the expression "one and inseparable" in a debate on public lands, however, pointed to the fact that where once there were thirteen States controlling each its own territory, it was evident that an increasingly powerful Central Government had been put in operation which held control of public lands maintained by all in common.

Daniel Webster, of the North and East, together with his warlike contemporary, Andrew Jackson, of the South and West, were the most noted precursors of those who held that the Federal power was supreme in the Union of the States. Webster was born at Salisbury, New Hampshire, January 18, 1782; died at Marshfield, Massachusetts, October 24, 1852.

that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to

right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this let facts be submitted to a candid world:

.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Con-

gress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

PREAMBLE

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

ARTICLE VI

1. ALL debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF THE
UNITED STATES
AMENDMENTS

ARTICLE X

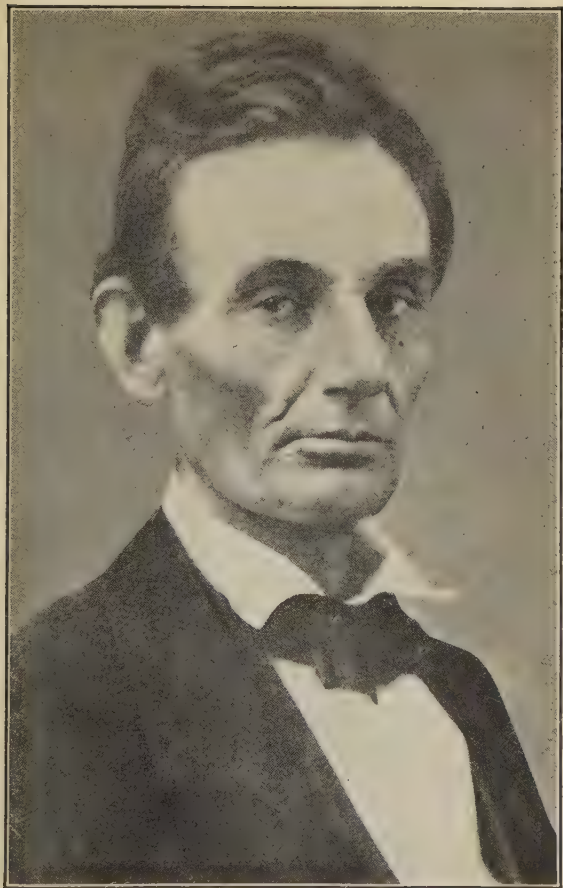
The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

JAMES MADISON

The Federalist, No. X

A DEMOCRACY IN A REPUBLIC

IT MAY be concluded, that a pure democracy, by which I mean a society consisting of a small number of citizens who assemble to administer the government in person can admit of no cure from the mischiefs of faction. A common passion or interest will, in almost every case, be felt by a majority of the whole; and communication and conceit, results from the form of government itself; and there is nothing to check the inducements to sacrifice the weaker party, or an obnoxious individual. Hence, it is, that such democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and



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ABRAHAM LINCOLN

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Like Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln was the son of a pioneer; like Andrew Jackson, he spent his childhood in a log cabin. A self-made man, born in the South and brought up in what was then the Far West, he became known as the President who preserved the Union, the people of which have now come to recognize no narrow distinctions of East or West or North or South, but only a common country, whose claims were voiced in former times by Henry and Hancock, by Washington, and by Webster, Clay, and others in every section.

Lincoln alone proved great enough for leadership of the Federal Government in the crisis of the great misunderstanding between American brothers. He was opposed in spirit to all unnecessary harshness; and had he lived, he alone might have healed the wounds of war without prolonging the period of political strife. He forecast the birth of a Nation which should not only be an influence for good and an inspiration to less fortunate peoples struggling for freedom, but which should become the mighty champion of the ideals of democracy in the world-wide conflict with autocracy.

Abraham Lincoln was born in Hardin County, Kentucky, February 12, 1809; he died in the Capital of the Nation April 15, 1865.

contention; have ever been found incompatible with personal security or the rights of property; and have in general been as short in their lives, as they have been violent in their deaths. Theoretic politicians, who have patronized this species of government, have erroneously supposed, that by reducing mankind to a perfect equality in their political rights, they would, at the same time, be perfectly equalized and assimilated in their possessions, their opinions, and their passions.

A republic, by which I mean a government in which the scheme of representation takes place, opens a different prospect, and promises the cure for which we are seeking. Let us examine the points in which it varies from a pure democracy, and we shall comprehend both the nature of the cure and the efficacy which it must derive from the union.

The two great points of difference between a democracy and a republic are, first, the delegation of the government, in the latter to a small number of citizens elected by the rest; secondly, the greater number of citizens, and greater sphere of country, over which the latter may be extended.

[*For the rest of this essay, see The Federalist, No. X.*]

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

MY DUTY TO MY COUNTRY IS TO LOVE IT;
TO SUPPORT ITS CONSTITUTION; TO
OBEY ITS LAWS

IN LOOKING forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country,—for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness un-

equal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the Passions agitated in every direction were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not infrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to the grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the

work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation, which is yet a stranger to it.

.

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances however strict between the parts can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the

adoption of a Constitution of Government, better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of your own choice uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing in itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its Laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true Liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, 'til changed by an explicit and authentic

act of the whole People is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the People to establish Government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the Laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the Nation, the will of a party;—often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community;—and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make

the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests. However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the Power of the People and to usurp for themselves the reins of Government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your Government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to this acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and
caused the Seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done this 16th day of December in the year of our Lord
one thousand nine hundred and eighteen, and of the Independence
of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-third.

Woodrow Wilson



By the President:

Philander C. Laury

Secretary of State.

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THE GREAT SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES

THE GREAT SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES

On the Great Seal, the eagle carries in his beak the Latin motto *E Pluribus Unum*, which, in the American's Creed, is given as "A Sovereign Nation of Many Sovereign States." (Cf., also, Daniel Webster, page 68, and the Supreme Court Ruling of 1868, page 76.) The shield represents the Union and the States respectively, in the upper part, or "chief," and in the lower part, or the stripes. In the talons of the eagle are the arrows of war and the olive branch of peace. The red, white, and blue represented on the face of the seal are, respectively: Red, to signify hardiness and valor; White, to signify purity and innocence; Blue, to signify vigilance, perseverance, and justice. Above the eagle's head is a "crest" depicting a "glory" breaking through a cloud and surrounding thirteen stars, representing the original thirteen States.

The reproduction of the Seal here given presents an actual and recent illustration of its use in an official document.

spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of Governments, as of other human institutions—that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing Constitution of a Country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion:—and remember, especially, that, for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a Government of

as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of Liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a Government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest Guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the Government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

.

'Tis substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of Free Government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

WEBSTER'S SPEECH,
JANUARY 26, 1830

A SOVEREIGN NATION OF MANY SOVEREIGN
STATES; (A PERFECT UNION),
ONE AND INSEPARABLE

THE people of the United States have declared that this Constitution shall be the supreme law. We must either admit the proposition or dispute their authority. The States are unquestionably sovereign, so far as their sovereignty is not affected by this supreme law. But the State legislatures, as political bodies, however sovereign, are yet not sovereign over the people. So far as the people have given power to the general government, so far the grant is unquestionably good, and the government holds of the people, and not

of the State governments. We are all agents of the same supreme power, the people. The general government and the State governments derive their authority from the same source. Neither can, in relation to the other, be called primary, though one is definite and restricted, and the other general and residuary. The national government possesses these powers which it can be shown the people have conferred on it, and no more. All the rest belongs to the State governments, or to the people themselves. So far as the people have restrained State sovereignty by the expression of their will, in the Constitution of the United States, so far, it must be admitted, State sovereignty is effectually controlled.

.

It is to that Union we owe our safety at home, and our consideration and dignity

abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. That Union we reached only by the discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It has its origin in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce, and ruined credit. Under its benign influences these great interests immediately awoke, as from the dead, and sprang forth with newness of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings; and although our territory has stretched out wider and wider and our population spread farther and farther, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a copious fountain of national, social, and personal happiness.

I have not allowed myself, Sir, to look beyond the Union to see what might lie

hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion to see whether, with my short sight, I could fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counsellor in the affairs of this government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union may be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it should be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that, in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise! God grant that on my vision never may be opened what

lies behind! When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, bearing for its motto, no such miserable interrogatory as "What is all this worth?" Nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty first and Union afterwards"; but everywhere spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the



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THE NATIONAL CAPITOL

THE NATIONAL CAPITOL

The cornerstone of the main building was laid by George Washington, September 18, 1793, and the central building was completed in 1827. The cornerstone of the extensions was laid on July 4, 1851; and Congress occupied the wings in 1857 and 1859. A bronze statue of Armed Liberty surmounts the dome. The building covers nearly four acres.

sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart, —“*Liberty and Union*, now and for ever, one and inseparable!”

LINCOLN'S ADDRESS AT GETTYS- BURG

A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE
PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE

FOURSCORE and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot con-

secrete, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note or long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT
REPORTS, 7 WALLACE, p. 725
DECEMBER, 1868

A SOVEREIGN NATION OF MANY SOVEREIGN
STATES; (A PERFECT UNION),
ONE AND INSEPARABLE

BUT the perpetuity and indissolubility of the Union by no means implies the loss of distinct and individual existence, or of the right of self-government by the States. Under the Articles of Confederation, each State attained its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right not expressly delegated to the United States. Under the Constitution, though the powers of the States were much restricted, still, all powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States

respectively, or to the people. And we have already had occasion to remark at this time, that "the people of each State compose a State, having its own government and endowed with all the functions essential to separate and independent existence," and that "without the States in union, there could be no such political body as the United States." Not only, therefore, can there be no loss of separate and independent autonomy to the States, through their union under the Constitution, but it may be not unreasonably said that the preservation of the States, and the maintenance of their governments, are as much within the design and care of the Constitution as the preservation of the Union and the maintenance of the National government. The Constitution, in all its provisions, looks to an indestructible Union, composed of indestructible States.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

TO SUPPORT ITS CONSTITUTION AND TO
DEFEND IT AGAINST ALL ENEMIES

I, A. B., do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So help me God.—
Revised Statutes of the United States, Section 1757.

WAR DEPARTMENT CIRCULAR ON FLAG ETIQUETTE, APRIL 14, 1917

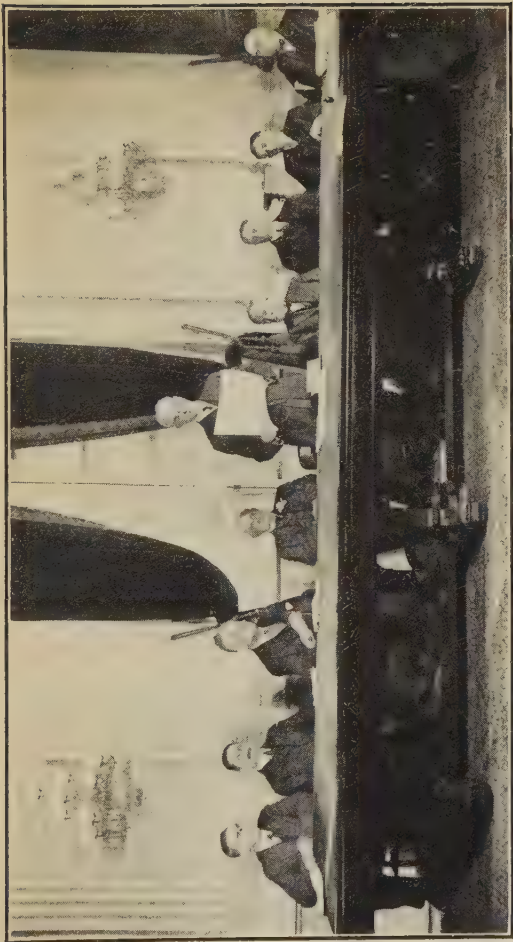
TO RESPECT ITS FLAG

It is the practice in the Army, each day in the year, to hoist the flag briskly at sunrise irrespective of the condition of the weather, and to lower it slowly and ceremoniously at sunset, indicating the commencement and cessation of the activities of the day, and to display it at half staff on Memorial Day (May 30) from sunrise until noon and at full staff from noon until sunset, and also on other days specially designated for that purpose by the proper authority, the flag always being first hoisted to the top of the staff before being lowered to the half staff position.

There has been some question among civilians concerning the exact location of a flag hung at "half staff." Theoretically, the flag is always hung on a separate staff, much shorter than the staffs usually erected on buildings and as a consequence a flag hung at half staff would be located much higher on the ordinary flag staff than under the present practice, but still the custom of placing the half-staffed flag in about the center of the flag pole, whatever its length may be, is rather generally observed throughout the country and this Department sees no real objection to this custom.

.

Existing regulations governing the Army provide that when officers and enlisted men pass the national flag, not encased, they will render honors as follows: If in civilian dress and covered, they will uncover, holding the headdress opposite



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SCENE IN NATIONAL CAPITOL AT ADOPTION OF THE AMERICAN'S CREED

SCENE IN NATIONAL CAPITOL AT ADOPTION OF THE AMER- ICAN'S CREED

The American's Creed was announced in the National Capitol, April 3, 1918. On this date the United States Commissioner of Education read The American's Creed for the first time in public before presenting it to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who accepted it in the name of the American people. All the proceedings and the official addresses made on this occasion were published in the *Congressional Record*, April 13, 1918.

William Tyler Page, the author of The American's Creed, is seated at the extreme right.

the left shoulder with the right hand; if uncovered, they will salute with the right hand salute. A flag unfurled and hung in a room in which officers or enlisted men of the Army are present will be saluted by them the first time they may have occasion to pass it but not thereafter.

.

Whenever the national air is played at any place where persons belonging to the military or naval service are present, all officers and enlisted men not in formation are required to stand at attention, facing toward the music, excepting when the flag is being lowered at sunset, on which occasion they are required to face toward the flag. If in civilian dress and uncovered, they are required to stand and salute at the first note of the air, retaining the position of salute until the last note of the air is played. If in civilian dress and covered,

they are required to stand and uncover at the first note of the air, holding the headdress opposite the left shoulder until the last note is played, excepting in inclement weather, when the headdress may be held slightly raised. The custom of rising and remaining standing and uncovered while the "Star-Spangled Banner" is being played is growing in favor among civilians.

Old or worn-out flags should not be used either for banners or for any secondary purpose. When a flag is in such a condition that it is no longer a fitting emblem for display, it should not be cast aside nor used in any way that might be viewed as disrespectful to the national colors but should be destroyed as a whole, privately, preferably by burning or by some other method lacking in any suggestion of irreverence or disrespect due the emblem representing our country.

THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER

O SAY, can you see by the dawn's early
light,

What so proudly we hail'd at the twi-
light's last gleaming,

Whose broad stripes and bright stars
through the perilous fight,

O'er the ramparts we watch'd, were so
gallantly streaming?

And the rocket's red glare, the bombs
bursting in air,

Gave proof thro' the night that our flag
was still there;

O say, does the Star-Spangled Banner
yet wave

O'er the land of the free, and the home of
the brave?

On the shore dimly seen thro' the mists of
the deep,

Where the foe's haughty host in dread
silence reposes,

What is that which the breeze o'er the
towering steep,

As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half
discloses?

Now it catches the gleam of the morning's
first beam,

In full glory reflected, now shines on the
stream;

'Tis the Star-Spangled Banner, oh, long
may it wave

O'er the land of the free, and the home of
the brave.

And where is that band, who so vauntingly
swore

That the havoc of war, and the battle's
confusion,

A home and a country should leave us no
more?

Their blood has washed out their foul
footsteps' pollution.

No refuge could save the hireling and slave
From the terror of flight, or the gloom of
the grave;

And the Star-Spangled Banner in triumph
doth wave

O'er the land of the free, and the home of
the brave.

Oh! thus be it ever, when freemen shall
stand

Between their loved home and the war's
desolation,

Blessed with vict'ry and peace, may the
heav'n rescued land

Praise the Power that has made and pre-
served us a nation.

86 THE AMERICAN'S CREED

Then conquer we must, when our cause it is
just,

And this be our motto: "In God is our
Trust";

And the Star-Spangled Banner in triumph
shall wave

O'er the land of the free, and the home of
the brave.

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